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Devin K. JOSHI
*Singapore Management University*, devinjoshi@smu.edu.sg

Roni Kay O'DELL
*Cameron University*



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# The Critical Role of Mass Media in International Norm Diffusion: The Case of UNDP Human Development Reports[1]

Devin Joshi, Singapore Management University

Roni Kay O'Dell, Cameron University

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Abstract

What role does mass media play in the promotion of global norms? We address this question through an analysis of Human Development Reports (HDRs) produced by the United Nations Development Programme. Although HDRs have promoted human development ideology over the past twenty-five years, little is known about how and to what extent their messages have been disseminated to the public. Addressing this gap in the literature, we examine a critical intervening factor in the process of international norm diffusion: political communication via the mass media. Highlighting the importance of framing and agenda setting, we identify four communicative mechanisms that can facilitate norm diffusion: credibility, persistence, resonance, and decentralization. Through qualitative and quantitative content analysis, we assess how these mechanisms have enabled HDRs to attract favorable global media attention such that they are now cited much more frequently than their rival, the World Bank's World Development Reports.

Keywords: human development, Human Development Report, ideology, international organizations, mass media, norms, United Nations

[1] Data and the "how to" instructions for replication purposes can be found at Joshi (2015) Global Mass Media Coverage of HDRs—Replication Data for: "The Critical Role of Mass Media in International Norm Diffusion: The Case of UNDP Human Development Reports" *International Studies Perspectives*. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.7910/DVN/A3UYZP, Harvard Dataverse, V1.

In all political interactions, whether domestic or international, those actors able to shape the beliefs, values, and attitudes of others have an advantage over those who cannot (Bachrach and Baratz 1962; Escobar 1995; Niebuhr 2001; Freeden 2003). Following this basic insight on the nature of human relations, international actors including states, international organizations (IOs), multinational corporations, and transnational advocacy networks regularly use strategic political communication to persuade international target groups to change their thinking and behavior (e.g., Kratochwil 1989; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Checkel 1999; Benford and Snow 2000; Acharya 2004; Krook and True 2012).

Cognizant of the power of consciousness, international relations (IR) scholars, particularly those working in the constructivist tradition, have made great advances since the 1990s in studying such diffusion of ideas and norms internationally (e.g., Elster 1989; Finnemore 1993, 1996; Katzenstein 1996; Checkel 1997; Legro 1997; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Barnett and Finnemore 1999; Risse-Kappen, Ropp, and Sikkink 1999; Park 2006; Park and Vetterlein 2010). However, three important topics remain relatively under-researched in this field. First, with the exception of a few path-breaking studies (e.g., Harvey 2005; Steger 2009; Steger, Goodman, and Wilson 2013), relatively little systematic empirical research exists on the global diffusion of new ideologies as coherent sets of norms. Second, IR scholars rarely examine the role of political communication (in general) and mass media coverage (in particular) as a critical intervening variable in the process of international norm diffusion. Third, most of the literature examines the diffusion of norms to states rather than to the global public.

Addressing these gaps in the literature, our study explores how political communication impacts an international actor's capacity to promote a set of norms at the global level. We examine the notion of human development (HD) that the United Nations has promoted as a set of norms through Human Development Reports (HDRs) beginning in the 1990s. The United Nations serves as a particularly important IO in norm diffusion because of its ability to codify "universal measures" (Weiss 2013, 48) and promote ideas that regularly travel from the obscure to the mainstream (Annan 2009, xiv). Building upon previous studies demonstrating how IOs exert power and influence based on their perceived moral authority (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Barnett and Finnemore 1999), we assess the United Nations' influence in promoting a set of norms vis-à-vis competing IOs, such as the World Bank (WB), as reflected in global mass media coverage. Rather than assessing the degree to which states have adopted, internalized, and implemented HD norms, we examine the extent to which mass media has promoted such norms.

As an organization with a global mandate, the United Nations has been influential in shaping how states think about international development during the post-Cold War period (Emmerij, Jolly, and Weiss 2001; Jolly et al. 2004; Jolly, Emmerij, and Weiss 2009). Assessing the United Nations' success at norm diffusion in the field of international development, our study focuses on the HDRs, the annual flagship publication of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (Murphy 2006, 25). In 1990, the UNDP's Human Development Reports Office published the first edition of the HDR introducing the concept of HD and launching the Human Development Index (HDI) as a signature measurement tool. Subsequent editions of the HDR have consistently promoted the HD ideology that is based on the idea of expanding human capabilities and freedoms (Haq 1995; Sen 1999). This view of development likewise motivated the 2000–2015 United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), an unprecedented large-scale campaign to reduce poverty and destitution worldwide (Joshi 2011, 2012).

As a quarter-century has passed since the issuing of the first HDR, we believe that the global diffusion of HD ideology deserves more careful study because it appears to have powerfully challenged earlier approaches to international development focused primarily on promoting economic growth (Brown 2004, 19; Stokke 2009, 344; Fukuda-Parr 2011, 123–24). Furthermore, we believe this case helps to illustrate that in studying the diffusion of ideas and norms, an exclusive analytical focus on a norm entrepreneur's power and authority or the adaptation and internalization of norms by states is insufficient (Clapp and Swanston 2009; Betts and Orchard 2014). Rather, we contend that it is worth examining how intervening factors, such as mass media, impact the spread of norms and ideas through mechanisms such as credibility, persistence, resonance, and decentralization. Therefore, what this article offers is both a detailed empirical case study as well as a theoretical response to an important gap in constructivist IR literature concerning how norms diffuse over time and space.

The rest of this article is structured as follows: We first lay down our conceptual framework through a brief review of recent literature on norm diffusion in international relations. We then discuss the role of the United Nations as an IO actively seeking to influence the global public and spread a set of norms via its HDRs. Next, we draw from the literature on political communication to offer four specific mechanisms by which mass media can act as a conduit or impediment to norm diffusion. Our empirical analysis illustrates these mechanisms via qualitative and quantitative content analysis of global media coverage of the HDRs over the past twenty-five years. We then conclude with an assessment of how and why HDRs appear to have had relative success compared to competitors, such as the WB's World Development Reports (WDRs).

## Global Norm Diffusion

In studying the international diffusion of ideas and norms, we begin by drawing on IR scholarship on norms, a field heavily influenced by constructivism. Although some of this literature treats norms and ideas interchangeably, an important distinction is that ideas are not necessarily widely held.[2] By contrast, norms are communal beliefs about accepted standards of behavior; whether community members conform to a norm is dependent on the successful diffusion of the norm to the community and on the degree of internalization and compliance (Coleman 1990, 243; Legro 1997, 243; Bicchieri 2006, 1–2). Norms that are successfully diffused to and internalized by a community may be so habitualized or subconscious that actors do not even think about the reasons for their actions; rather, they simply follow them with minimal deviation from accepted behavior (Opp 2013). Conversely, others argue that even settled norms are always open to new forms of contestation (Betts and Orchard 2014).

The IR literature specifies different mechanisms whereby norms might diffuse from nonstate international actors to states. Some IR theorists place emphasis on societal and communal structures as mechanisms of norm diffusion (e.g., Giddens 1984; Wendt 1987), often arguing that norms emerge and spread because of the need for a society or group of actors to deal with negative externalities (Akerlof 1976; Coleman 1990). This view holds that norms are diffused primarily through socialization processes (Parsons 1951). Norms emerge because of a specific need then diffuse and are internalized by a population in order to address that perceived need (e.g., Coleman 1990). In this way, moral norms "can be understood as general heuristics" (Alexander 2007, 23).

IR theorists who emphasize rational choice suggest that agents, rather than structure, are the keys behind diffusion. From this viewpoint, norms emerge and diffuse when actors make a cost–benefit calculation that norm adoption is in their own individual self-interest (e.g., Bicchieri 2006). Alexander (2007, 3) argues that, just as in a game of chess, "people engaged in rational, deliberative calculations approach the ideal standard." Although scholarship in this tradition often suggests that norms are mutually agreed upon, recent studies show that international norms can be enforced coercively through power relationships (Legro 1997; MacKenzie and Sesay 2012).

Agent-focused IR theorists also focus on normative beliefs, values, and identities. In these works, the onus of norm emergence and diffusion is on agents or "norm entrepreneurs" in the form of individuals or collective state and nonstate actors, including transnational advocacy networks, epistemic communities, and IOs (Haas 1992; Finnemore 1993, 1996; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Risse-Kappen, Ropp, and Sikkink 1999; Fukuda-Parr and Hulme 2011). Yet, these theorists do not assume that actors will always act in a rational manner when diffusing a norm. As a result, this line of research challenges earlier assumptions that norms always serve a functional purpose. Rather, it finds that material interests are not always of prime importance in social life (Landolt 2007).

A major empirical observation is that individual actors do not act in every case to maximize their utility narrowly construed in financial terms; they also act out of normative-based beliefs or "a logic of appropriateness" (March and Olsen 1989, 160). Further, such studies highlight the power of discourse as a mechanism behind norm diffusion. As Foucault (1972, 38, 49) argued, discourses rely upon "rules of formation," whereby linguistic and

[2] Some scholars, however, use the term "norms" to describe practices or beliefs that are not yet widespread even through their proponents would like them to be (e.g., Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Betts and Orchard 2014).

communicative practices "systematically form the objects of which they speak." From this perspective, discourses shape how we think about the world and public discourse functions as a "scarce symbolic power resource" (van Dijk 2011, 4) characterized by exclusions such as "prohibited words, the division of madness and the will to truth" and "internal rules, where discourse exercises its own control; rules concerned with the principles of classification, ordering and distribution" (Foucault 1972, 219, 220). As an insightful recent overview illustrates, discourse analysis has increasingly become more mainstream in constructivist IR theory since the late 1990s (Holzscheiter 2014).

Despite the breadth of this literature, IR constructivist accounts of norm diffusion frequently assume that norms are "good" and often do not account for relationships of power that exist between groups of actors. For instance, Epstein (2012, 138) argues that most constructivists do not have a critical view of the structure(s) in which norm entrepreneurs promote norms; "what is problematic as a scholar is the lack of critical awareness as to one's own situatedness." For Epstein, the norms that are supposedly agreed upon and adopted by all in the international community are embedded in a normative structural environment that favors some norms over others. Similarly, MacKenzie and Sesay (2012) argue that norms are embedded in unequal relationships in which powerful actors impose their views and practices on those who are not powerful. Moreover, although norm entrepreneurs "call attention to issues and even 'create' issues by using language that names, interprets, and dramatizes them" (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 897), studies in this genre generally ignore how actors like the mass media play a significant and independent role in legitimizing the messages and power of norm entrepreneurs in diffusing their ideas to states and to the public. These studies typically focus instead on elite-level diffusion mechanisms, such as dialogue, bargaining, and discourse between specific groups (Coleman 1990, 28–31; Ensminger and Knight 1997; Bicchieri 2006; Dubash 2009). As a perceptive recent study points out, scholars have studied the "internalization" of norms internationally, but paid less attention to the domestic implementation of such norms whereby local agents "introduce or reinterpret new ideas" and play a crucial role in "channeling the norm" through domestic norm contestation processes (Betts and Orchard 2014, 13).

Therefore, in order to compensate for what is lacking in the IR constructivist literature on norm diffusion, we apply four important conceptual contributions from the literature described above in our analysis. First, the literature highlights the undeniable importance of ideas, that ideas are always in flux, and that norms and ideas should be seen as dynamic rather than static (Krook and True 2012). Second, this literature draws our attention to the evolutionary process by which only select norms become adopted internationally, whereas most remain local and are short-lived. This diffusion process has been labeled a "norm life cycle," whereby new norms emerge due to advocacy by norm entrepreneurs, select norms then cascade or diffuse up to a tipping point as a critical number of states adopt them, and finally certain norms become internalized by states and are no longer debated (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 896). Third, the literature highlights the role of IOs, and the United Nations in particular, as norm entrepreneurs and embodiments of norms that have become institutionalized (Weiss 2013, 49). Fourth, the literature highlights the importance of discourse in IR as it creates intersubjective understandings of the world (Holzscheiter 2014). As this study demonstrates through its analysis of media discourse on the HD ideology, discourse is influential in the norm life cycle process and especially during the diffusion of a norm.

## United Nations as a Promoter of a New Global Ideology

We now turn to the United Nations as an IO promoting a global ideology in the field of international development along with related norms through its annual HDRs. Focusing on how ideology generates and binds together a set of norms, rather than looking only at a single norm, allows us to analyze how the United Nations tries to influence whole worldviews rather than just ways of acting on a single issue. The concept of ideology is a rich one, reflecting how a person or group of people view the world and interact with it based on preconceived notions about how the world does and should work. Ideology can be defined as "a system of widely shared ideas, patterned beliefs, guiding norms and values, and lofty ideals accepted as 'fact' or 'truth' by significant groups in society" (Steger 2009, 6). Whereas norms more often operate at the micro level referring to a single practice or idea, ideologies function at a macro level promoting a *set of norms*. Ideologies are significant because they impact (1) how people perceive an issue and (2) the language used to describe the world. They also (3) frame agendas for

action and (4) alter how groups perceive their interests (Jolly, Emmerij, and Weiss 2009, 42). As Steger (2009, 6) notes

> Codified by social elites, ideologies offer individuals a more or less coherent picture of the world not only as it is but also as it should be. In doing so, they organize the tremendous complexity of human experience into fairly simple and understandable images that, in turn, provide people with a normative orientation in time and space and in means and ends.

In the case of the United Nations, since the Cold War, its ideas about development have increasingly exhibited the structure of a coherent ideology with a set of related norms being disseminated to the global public. As Thérien (2012a, 1) argues, "the ideology of human development has now become the driving normative force behind the global policies supported by the United Nations in the area of development." More specifically, the UNDP (1990, 9–10) defines HD as "a process of enlarging people's choices" based on the idea that "people are the real wealth of a nation" with the HD ideology grounded in the "capabilities approach" pioneered by Amartya Sen and scholars like Mahbub ul Haq and Martha Nussbaum (Murphy 2006, 240). According to Sen (1999, 291), expanding human capabilities increases people's freedoms and "in pursuing the view of development as freedom, we have to examine … the extent to which people have the opportunity to achieve outcomes that they value and have reason to value." As Robeyns (2005, 94–95) states

> The capability approach is a broad normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies, and proposals about social change in society … The capability approach has also provided the theoretical foundations of the human development paradigm … The core characteristic of the capability approach is its focus on what people are effectively able to do and to be; that is on their capabilities … What is ultimately important is that people have the freedoms or valuable opportunities (capabilities) to lead the kind of lives they want to lead, to do what they want to do and be the person they want to be.

Important norms attached to the capabilities approach include, for example, states making sure that health care is provided to and accessible to a population, implementing gender quotas in political parties and national/local assemblies in order to support gender equality, and states having a duty to protect human rights (Sen 1999; Jain 2005; Murphy 2006). The capabilities approach likewise motivates the promotion of norms to expand stakeholder/democratic governance, civil society participation, and the setting and monitoring of global targets and goals to achieve HD objectives (Murphy 2006; Jolly, Emmerij, and Weiss 2009; Stokke 2009).

The HD discourse of putting people first (over capital accumulation, over nation-states, over territorial boundaries, and over other species) is also evident in the recent terminology of inter-related core concepts promoted by the United Nations: (1) *human* rights, (2) *human* development, and (3) *human* security (Jolly et al. 2004; Jolly, Emmerij, and Weiss 2009; Thérien 2012a, 2012b). As former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan pointed out: "we will not enjoy development without security, we will not enjoy security without development and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights" (as quoted in Thérien 2014, 380). Current Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (2010) has likewise signaled that HD is a top priority of the United Nations: "everything we do is tested by one criterion: has it improved peoples' lives?"

Among various means for disseminating HD norms, HDRs are a prime outlet (Murphy 2006; McNeill 2007; Jolly, Emmerij, and Weiss 2009; Stokke 2009; Thérien 2012a). As the United Nations Intellectual History Project points out regarding the global impact of UN ideas,

> Strengthening the means for disseminating new ideas, analyses, and proposals is equally important. The UN's ability to reach large numbers of people with key reports is sometimes impressive. An outstandingly positive illustration of this has been the marketing of the Human Development Reports (Jolly, Emmerij, and Weiss 2009, 30).

The advent of HD thinking in the 1990s, as represented in the HDRs, was at the forefront of international conferences and high-level committees that led to the creation of the MDGs (Fukuda-Parr and Hulme 2011, 18). The MDG targets correspond closely with the HD idea of poverty as multidimensional and relate to deprivations concerning multiple human capabilities. The MDGs also served to bring the development community together

under a massive global campaign focused on goals that would reduce poverty and increase human freedoms (Jolly et al. 2004; Fukuda-Parr and Hulme 2011) that "quickly became the development priority of the entire UN system" (Thérien 2012a, 6). The Millennium Declaration that launched the MDGs was approved by the United Nations General Assembly in September 2000 and set the tone by stating that "we recognize that … we have a collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at the global level" (UN 2000, section I.2). A total of 189 countries unequivocally approved the MDGs and the United Nations, along with partner organizations, will continue this large-scale and unprecedented campaign into an extended set of Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals through at least the year 2030 (UN 2013).

In addition to its strong influence on the MDGs, HDRs have drawn attention by offering an ideological alternative to the WB's flagship annual report, the WDR (Jolly et al. 2004). The WB's stated primary objective in development is to "foster private, market-led growth" (World Bank 2007, 162) by protecting investors' property rights and promoting pro-market regulatory policies, a stable macroeconomic situation, and the absence of corruption (World Bank 2002). In addition to encouraging political decentralization and lowering trade barriers, the Bank has also generally supported limiting state budgets, maintaining low levels of taxation, reducing employment in the bureaucracy, and privatizing publicly owned enterprises (Crawford 2006; Engel 2010).

As demonstrated by previous studies, the HDRs present a relatively centrist ideology of development compared with the right-of-center WDRs (Joshi and O'Dell 2013). For example, the HDRs advocate a balance between states and markets in the economy, promote democracy and human rights, and call for increased foreign aid, environmental protection, and cultural pluralism. By contrast, the WDRs tend to frame development from a more neoliberal perspective championing a greater role for the private sector in the economy with relatively less emphasis on human rights, democratization, or social and cultural aspects of development (Joshi and O'Dell 2015).[3]

## The Role of Political Communication in Diffusing Global Ideology

We now turn to the role of political communication and discourse in mass media as being pivotal to the global diffusion of norms and ideas. A number of constructivists acknowledge that discourse and language play an important role in the diffusion of norms (e.g., Risse-Kappen et al. 1999; Holzscheiter 2014), but we depart from the standard work of IR constructivists to incorporate political communication more carefully into our theorizing. In particular, we propose that in order for ideas and norms, such as those embedded in the HDRs, to be accepted and relevant, endorsement and dissemination from the mass media plays a critical role in legitimizing them. As Potter (2013) argues, "mass media" consists of three components. First, the "sender of messages" is "a complex organization that uses standardized practices to disseminate content while actively promoting itself in order to attract as many audience members as possible and condition those audience members for habitual repeated exposures" (Potter 2013, 17). Second, its "channels of message dissemination" are "technological devices that can reach audiences within a relatively short time … make messages public (i.e., available to anyone), and extend the availability of messages in times and space" (Potter 2013, 16–17). Third, its "audience" consists of "people who are widely dispersed geographically, that is not all in one place, [and] are aware of the public character of what they are seeing or hearing" (Potter 2013, 17). As Yee (1996) notes, the ability of ideas to impact policy is contingent upon carriers who keep ideas alive by sustaining, spreading, amplifying, and endorsing them through language. Mass media is undoubtedly one of these conduits as its influence goes beyond direct exposure. "Since mass media messages reach large audiences, changes in behavior that become norms within an individual's social network might influence that person's decisions without them having been directly exposed to or initially persuaded by the campaign" (Wakefield, Loken, and Hornik 2010, 1262).

In order to understand the contribution of political communication to international norm diffusion, we begin with the essential concepts of *framing* and *agenda setting*. In our view, mass media plays a critical role because it does not simply relay messages. Mass media chooses which messages to relay and whether to do so in a way that is

[3] As we have noted elsewhere, the WDRs have begun to pay greater attention to social development since the turn of the century and this is likely due to being influenced by the MDGs and HDRs (Joshi and O'Dell 2013).

favorable or oppositional. Like all political actors, mass media outlets engage in the process of "framing," which refers to "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution" (Entman 2004, 5). Through framing, media has the power to define effects or conditions as problematic, identify causes, convey moral judgments, and to endorse remedies or improvements, all of which are key to a message's receptivity (Entman 2004, 5–6). Although information in the media is regularly packaged into selective, framed communications (Entman 2004, 12), there are several facilitating mechanisms by which a norm promoter can get its message out through the media and reduce the risk of the message becoming distorted, muffled, or silenced: (1) credibility, (2) persistence, (3) resonance, and (4) decentralization.

First, the credibility of a news source stems from its perceived expertise, trustworthiness, reputation, and accuracy; studies find that the credibility of a news source strongly influences the extent to which an audience is persuaded by its message (Hovland and Weiss 1951; McQuail 2010, 509–10; Rahman 2014). Psychological experiments also demonstrate that people are more persuaded by messages coming from sources they find credible (Zimbardo and Leippe 1991; Petty and Wegener 1998). Thus, we argue that the more the HDRs are presented as credible, the greater the likelihood that the HD ideology will be disseminated to the global public.

Second, mass media plays an "agenda-setting role" in which some messages are presented consistently to the public, making those themes appear salient, familiar, and shared (Cohen 1963; McCombs and Shaw 1972). As McCombs (2004, 68, 2) notes, "those elements emphasized on the media agenda come to be regarded as important by the public … for all the news media, the repetition of a topic day after day is the most powerful message of all about its importance." In terms of agenda setting, we focus in particular on the persistence mechanism to explain the degree to which we see a consistent message delivered to the public through mass media. For example, we assess the extent to which HDRs and the norms they promote are persistently reported by the mass media to the global public.

A third mechanism related to credibility and agenda setting is resonance; that is, how a message not only corroborates an audience's cultures and belief systems, but is crafted by media to fit with the local culture and belief systems. Resonance is important not only for dissemination but also eventual public acceptance of a norm or ideology (Coleman 1990; Checkel 2001; Epstein 2006). A message is more likely to have an impact and community acceptance when it fits with a recipient's preexisting values, perceptions, and understandings (Petty and Wegener 1998; Acharya 2004), thereby giving credibility to the message and its promoter. Mass media plays a crucial role in shaping messages and influencing how big, serious, or relevant an issue appears to an audience. It is not only the case that "the more violent the murder the bigger the headlines it will make," but also that people "pay particular attention to the familiar, the culturally similar," and "an event with a clear interpretation, free from ambiguities in its meaning, is preferred to the highly ambiguous event from which many and inconsistent implications can and will be made" (Galtung and Ruge 1965, 66–67). Thus, we assess the level of local resonance of the HD ideology by analyzing the way that media frames the ideology for different local audiences, and by the way the media reports local people accepting tenets of the ideology.

Along with the three mechanisms of credibility, persistence, and resonance, we apply a fourth mechanism to the analysis, that of decentralization. In political science, decentralization refers to the distribution of power among different levels of authoritative structures and the greater involvement of the public in decision-making procedures (Cheema and Rondinelli 2007, 3–4). For our purposes, we apply decentralization in reference to the multiplicity of HDR producers and news outlets from global to local levels. When multiple outlets set more or less the same agenda, that agenda becomes even more widely disseminated and normalized (McCombs 2004).

## Findings and Analysis[4]

[4] Data and the "how to" instructions for replication purposes can be found at Joshi (2015) Global Mass Media Coverage of HDRs—Replication Data for: "The Critical Role of Mass Media in International Norm Diffusion: The Case of UNDP

To empirically assess these mechanisms through a case study of the HDRs, we conducted quantitative and qualitative content analysis of their mass media coverage as recorded in the LexisNexis (LN) global newspaper archive. Based on the idea that norm dissemination to the global public is most successful when all four mechanisms of media transmission are present, we looked to see if newspaper articles mentioning the HDRs: (1) treat the HDR with a high level of credibility, (2) persistently report on the HDRs with an increase of such reporting over time, (3) cover the HDRs and associated HD norms as relevant to and compatible with local cultures and beliefs, and (4) report on different levels of HDRs with increasing frequency over time, especially relative to ideological competitors.

First, we searched the LN Academic archive for articles with the words "human development report" (in quotes) among major world newspapers between 1990 and 2014. The search found almost 5,000 articles. Following Potter (2013, 19), we believed it would be insufficient to just take a snapshot from a particular year since "there needs to be a longitudinal element to 'mass' media research in order to establish a pattern of media use" (Potter 2013, 19). Therefore, to systematically analyze article content and to assess whether content fit our hypothesized diffusion mechanisms, we separated newspaper articles into five separate periods (1990–1994, 1995–1999, 2000–2004, 2005–2009, and 2010–2014). We then conducted detailed coding of 50 randomly sampled articles for each half-decade mid-point year for a total of 250 articles or a roughly 5 percent sample size.[5] This enabled us to look at five-year intervals over a twenty-year period, allowing us to examine changes over time and to assess the articles both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Our coding procedure involved four raters including the articles' two coauthors and a research assistant as well as a guest rater to establish coding alignment. Following standard content analysis procedures, we began by establishing initial coding guidelines to maximize intra-rater and inter-rater alignment (Neuendorf 2002). First, two raters and a guest rater coded an initial sample of fifteen articles and then engaged in extensive discussion about how and what to code. The coding sheet was then modified and simplified to reduce potential coding error. Another sample of ten articles was then rated by the project's three main coders. After reaching agreement on coding criteria, each of the 250 articles was read by two coders using the code sheet in Appendix B. To maximize reliability, coding relied primarily on the presence or absence of particular keywords or phrases that could also be verified digitally. For those issues on which subjective judgment was required, we calculated inter-coder reliability as discussed below.

Assessing how mass media covers HDRs, we began by examining the mechanism of credibility to identify the extent to which mass media presents the HDR as a reliable source. We used a binary coding scheme to ascertain whether mass media in fact treated HDRs as credible. Articles coded as questioning credibility featured pejorative words or tone when discussing the HDR or argued that the HDR was not to be believed. Articles coded as demonstrating credibility used either neutral or explicitly positive words or tone to either tacitly or directly convey that the HDR was professional and trustworthy. Out of all the articles assessed, both coders found an overwhelming majority of articles (241 out of 250) assigned high levels of credibility to the United Nations and HDR, with only nine articles questioning their credibility as a source. With a high level of inter-rater reliability,[6] this finding fits with earlier work asserting that HDRs are seen as highly credible as products of a high degree of intellectual autonomy and professional integrity (Haq 1995, 43; Murphy 2006, 242; McNeil 2007, 11).

An example of a media source bestowing credibility to the HDR and its HD ideology is a 1997 front-page Canadian newspaper article entitled "We're No. 1—Still: UN Report Finds Canada is Tops for Fourth Straight

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Human Development Reports" International Studies Perspectives. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10. 7910/DVN/A3UYZP, Harvard Dataverse, V1.

[5] For each year, we started coding from the last article to appear that year until we reached fifty articles. For 1992, there were only fifty valid articles (excluding duplicates) and all were coded. For 1997 (125 articles), we coded every other article, for 2002 (174 articles), every third article, for 2007 (217 articles), every fourth article, and for 2012 (366 articles), every seventh article.

[6] We used two methods to assess inter-rater reliability. First, percent agreement among the raters was very high (97.6 percent) and well above the 80 percent level recommended by Neuendorf (2002, 143). Second, since more than two raters were involved, we calculated Fleiss' kappa and that was relatively strong (0.65) in the upper part of the range (from 0.40 to 0.75) associated with "fair to good agreement" (Fleiss, Levin, and Paik 2003, chapter 18).

Year" which conveys the report's credibility by mentioning how both the country's prime minister and opposition leader took the report's findings seriously. The same article also transmits HD norms by discussing and legitimizing the HDI, a signature UN development indicator combining measures of health, education, and living standards. The article also draws the reader into a more complex understanding of HD based on removing impediments to human capabilities and moving beyond income as a sole measure of development:

> On average incomes, Canada ranks eighth in per capita gross domestic product at $21,459 U.S. "We believe that income above a certain amount does not say it all about how people live," Lauzon said. "If we ask people in many countries, 'Would you rather have an additional $2,000 a year income or be healthy and have education?' most will choose health and education" (Beltrame 1997, A1).

We found journalists and op-ed writers conveyed a high-level of credibility to the HDRs not only because of their association with the United Nations but also because they produce and disseminate data and development indicators on issues of relevance to the mass public. For example, media coverage citing an HDR regularly highlights a country's HDI ranking and how it compares to other countries (see Appendix A). Media reports likewise indicate that political elites in developing countries take HDI scores seriously and will contest them when lower than expected. For example, Rwanda has criticized the United Nations for using outdated figures to calculate its HDI, and Cuban diplomats expressed dismay over Cuba's exclusion from the HDI in the 2011 HDR despite scoring among the top Latin American countries in the past. "Cuba was included in 2009 HDI but excluded from 2010 HDI supposedly due to technical issues calculating its PPP per capita income (PCI) which the World Bank doesn't do for Cuba due to the US 49-year old blockade of the island" (Deen 2011).

Yet even in the small number of cases where the HDR's credibility is questioned, journalists have rarely amplified such dissenting opinions. For example, in the following excerpt taken from global monitoring reports of the BBC (2012), there is no effort to bolster the credibility of the minister critiquing the HDR: "UNDP launches Kosovo Human Development Report 2012; Nenad Rasic, labor and social welfare minister, says report findings relating to unemployment level, average salary 'unrealistic'."

Second, we assessed the persistence mechanism by analyzing the degree to which the media consistently reported on the HDRs and their norms and whether that reporting remained consistent over time. First, we note that the HD ideology itself is consistently utilized by HDRs in a similar way over time. As Thérien (2012a, 3) points out, "the *Human Development Reports* consistently underscore two objectives: the increase of well-being and the empowerment of people. Twenty years on, the core of the UNDP's approach has remained remarkably stable." The HDRs aim to do this by consistent emphasis on the capabilities approach and reporting of the HDI, which has changed methodology a few times but retained the same three components (health, education, and living standards; Murphy 2006). Haq (1995), the author of the first HDR, pushed for the HDI as a signature index "devised explicitly as a rival to GNP" (Sen 2006, 257), formulated together with leading development economists, including Meghnad Desai, Gustav Ranis, Amartya Sen, Frances Stewart, and Paul Streeten (Kaul 2003, 85; Murphy 2006, 247).

Examining the persistence of media coverage in every world region, we found the HDR appears in significantly more newspaper articles than the WDR, its main competitor. As shown in Appendix A, which provides a breakdown of seventy-five major English language world newspapers and wire services by region, articles mentioning the HDR exceeded those mentioning the WDR in Africa (2,289 to 671), East Asia (988 to 293), Europe (1,815 to 516), North America (1,089 to 449), Oceania/Pacific (242 to 60), South Asia (252 to 46), and West and Central Asia (112 to 7). The total number of newspaper articles in the LN archive covering the HDR each year has also grown exponentially from 18 in 1990 to 505 in 2014 as shown in Figure 1.[7] In contrast, annual articles covering the WDR increased only from twenty-five to eighty over the same time period. Among all news sources in the LN archive, that which has given the most coverage to the HDRs is the *Africa News* wire service. As shown in Figure 2, in this source the HDRs were covered more frequently than the WDRs by a margin of five-to-one during the 1990s and early 2000s and more than twice as often during the 2010s. Also worth noting

[7] Growth in the number of articles over time may partially be a function of the LN archive expanding in recent years to include newspaper sources from more countries as shown in Appendix A. However, as Figure 1 and Appendix A reveal, articles covering the HDR are still much more frequent than those covering the WDR.

in *Africa News* is the rapid increase of articles discussing an HDI, which over the past five years has appeared twice as often as articles discussing the HDR. This illustrates the degree to which journalists in Africa, as in other regions, treat both the HDR and the HDI as credible (see also Appendix A).

**Figure 1.** Global Newspaper Articles Mentioning the HDR and WDR by Year (1990–2014). (*Source*: Authors' searches for articles containing "human development report" and "world development report" in global newspapers on LN Database. Search conducted January 14, 2015.)

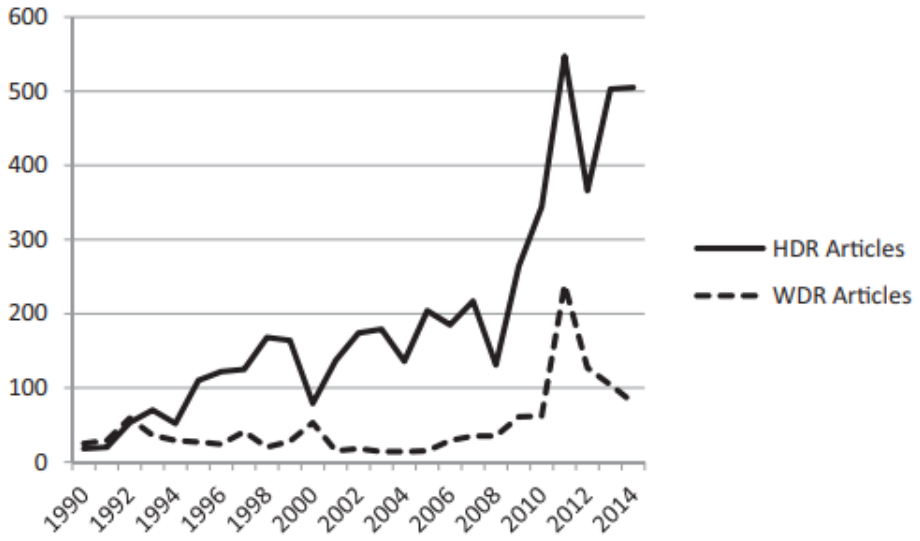
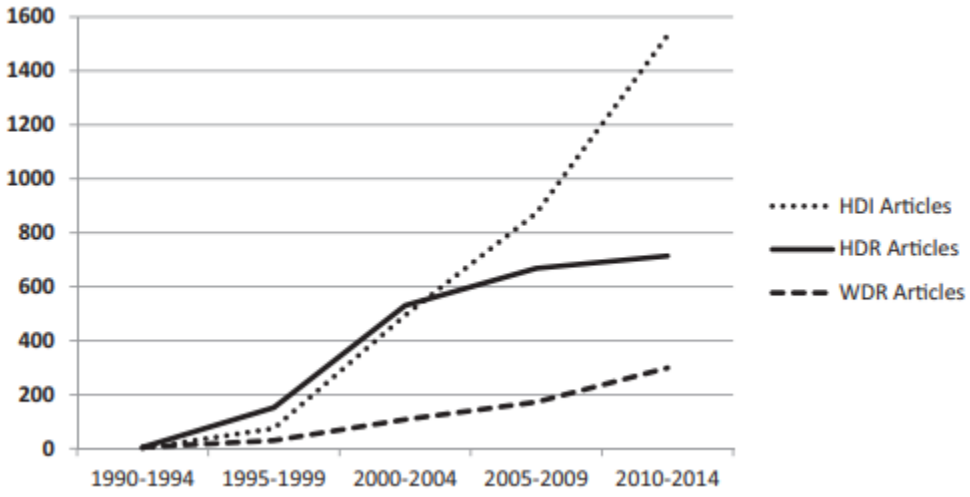



**Figure 2.** *Africa News* Articles Mentioning the HDI, HDR, and WDR (1990–2014). (*Source*: Authors' searches for articles containing "human development index," "human development report," and "world development report" in *Africa News* on LN Database. Search conducted January 14, 2015).




Persistence has also contributed to the legitimization of HD ideology in the way the HDI is covered and explained as a global norm in the mass media. In the early years, newspaper articles mentioning the HDI usually explained it as rooted in a multidimensional approach to development based on a core nucleus of health, education, and living

standards. For example, in 1992, eighteen out of the fifty articles in our sample explained the HDI in this way. However, by 2012, the HDI was so well-known and almost taken for granted that few articles (only three out of fifty) bothered to explain it. In fact, ten years after the introduction of the HDI, most of the twenty-first century articles we analyzed (11 out of 150) did not explain either the HDI or the HDR. Reporters presumably took it for granted that readers knew about the HDR and the HDI and would accept them as authoritative.

Next, we assessed the degree to which HDRs spoke to the concerns of global audiences to analyze the resonance mechanism. Our purpose here was to examine how HDRs are crafted to appeal to local audiences. Three powerful ways in which the HDRs aim to do this are through (1) data analysis, (2) visual symbols, and (3) discussion of gaps between reality and ideals. In many cases, all three of these are combined in powerful ways. As Entman (2004, 104) argues, visual images are especially powerful because they can convey a message more strongly than mere words. The HDRs notably put much effort into this strategy by producing a number of startling visual displays. One prominent example from the 1992 HDR is the image of a champagne glass reflecting global income inequality (see Figure 3), which was discussed heavily in the media. Another example from the 1998 HDR is a comparison of actual global spending patterns with estimated costs of meeting global needs (see Table 1). Such visual symbols are powerful, and a key force behind them is the United Nations' unparalleled capacity for original data collection and analysis framed in ways the United Nations perceives global problems and solutions (Ward 2004).

**Figure 3.** Champagne Glass Image of Global Inequality. (*Source*: Figure adapted from UNDP [1992, 35, figure 3.2].)

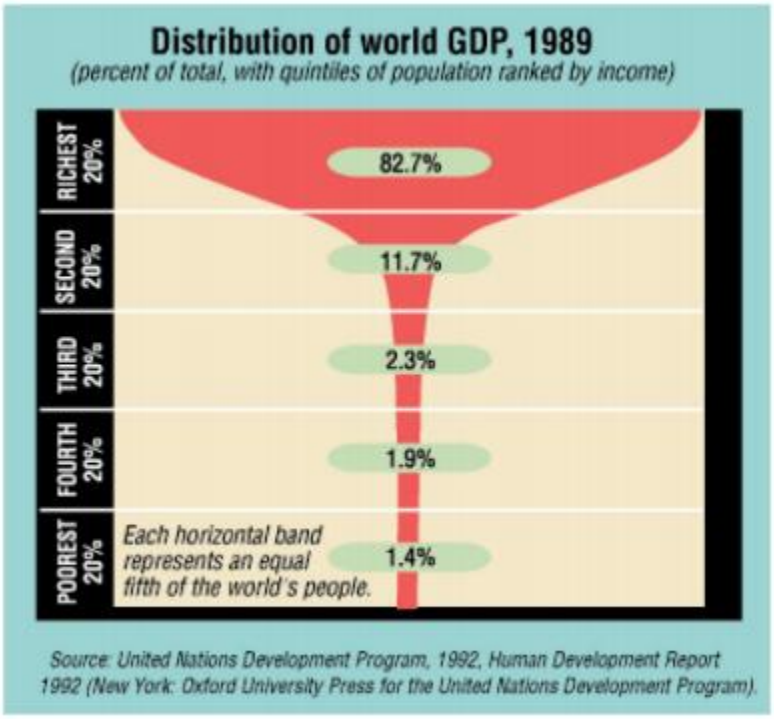


**Table 1** Comparison of the world's expenditures and priorities, 1998

| Expenditures | Cost in USD billions |
|---|---|
| Cosmetics in the United States | 8 |
| Ice cream in Europe | 11 |
| Perfumes in Europe and the United States | 12 |
| Pet foods in Europe and the United States | 17 |
| Business entertainment in Japan | 35 |
| Cigarettes in Europe | 50 |
| Alcoholic drinks in Europe | 105 |
| Narcotics drugs in the world | 400 |
| Military spending in the world | 780 |
| *Global priorities* | |
| Basic education for all | 6 |
| Water and sanitation for all | 9 |
| Reproductive health for all women | 12 |
| Basic health and nutrition for all | 13 |

*Source*: Table adapted from UNDP (1998, 37, table 1.12).

Finally, we assessed whether national and local media replicated the HD content presented in HDRs to determine how the decentralization mechanism contributes to the diffusion of the HD ideology. The HDRs have explicitly pursued this strategy by being translated into many languages and being decentralized in the form of HDRs written for regional, national, and subnational audiences. In fact, according to the UNDP's Web site, between 1990 and 2014 at least 737 HDRs were published at four different levels: global (23), regional (32), national (657), and subnational (26). As the director of the office responsible for overseeing dozens of subnational HDRs in India explained in an interview,[8] the aim of the United Nations was to expand HD thinking and make it a norm by having people at local levels put together their own HD reports. Not only is replication via imitation and hybridization evident in national and subnational HDRs, but we also found reports at these different levels are frequently cited by the media. For example, among our 250 sample articles, all HDR references in 1992 newspaper articles were to the global report; references to the global report declined to less than 40 percent in 2012. Meanwhile, national and regional level reports each made up over 20 percent of references to HDRs and articles referring to subnational HDRs comprised nearly 10 percent of articles in 2012.

Concerning the impact of the HDRs on norm diffusion, we found a high correlation in each of our sample years between the annual themes discussed in that HDR and the content reported in the newspapers. Some of the most cited themes among our sample articles were income inequality (1992 and 1997), poverty reduction (1997), quality of life (1997), the importance of democracy (2002, 2007, and 2012), and climate change (2007 and 2012). Thus, components of HD ideology that came across in the reports mirrored the United Nations' promotion in the HDRs. These included ensuring gender equality, analyzing income inequality, reducing poverty, implementing participatory development and democratic institutions, and addressing climate change.

More specifically, we also looked at how frequently five particular norms (gender equality, rights of migrants, democracy, foreign aid, and the MDGs) were covered. Among these five, we found the most discussed norm was gender equality followed by foreign aid and democracy. By contrast, there was much less discussion of the rights of migrants and the MDGs. Thus, it appears that norms involving commitments by the Global North (such as treating migrants better and properly funding the MDGs) are less amplified by the media than advocacy of democracy and gender equality, issues on which the North might claim to be doing better than the South.

Among major norms emphasized by the HDRs, gender equality, income inequality, and the reduction of poverty were influential in multiple HDRs but seemed to make the most media impact in the 1990s. Newspaper reporters and op-ed columnists were shocked at the income inequality reported in the HDRs and reacted strongly to the earlier mentioned champagne glass image featured in the 1992 report. They also used HDR data and statistical

[8] Author's interview with India UNDP–HDRO Director in New Delhi, March 2006

analysis to create a call for action on norms the United Nations was promoting. As one journalist at a financial newspaper wrote, "the [HDR] concludes that 'political commitment not financial resources is the real obstacle to poverty eradication'" (Balls 1997, 54). In another example, from an Australian newspaper, the article was positive about the outlook on poverty reduction: "But the [HDR] carried a message of hope, backed up by an array of charts, statistics and case histories, 'that poverty is no longer inevitable'" (*The Mercury* 1997). Further, the focus of the HDRs on human freedom versus simply accounting for income resonated with many reporters and op-ed columnists. In one opinion piece, the author pointed out how "The UNDP Human Development Report 1997 argued that income is not the total sum of well-being; therefore, lack of income cannot be the total sum of poverty. Human poverty does not focus on what people do or do not have, but on what they can or cannot do" (Bwiire 2012).

More recently, newspaper articles in the 2000s have focused on contemporary political events such as the fight against terrorism, the U.S. invasion of Iraq, and the negative and positive impacts of globalization and climate change on specific countries around the world. A major theme that stuck out in 2002 was the HDR's support for democracy—the HDR for that year was entitled *Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World* (UNDP 2002). This made waves around the world, but was deeply supported by almost all reporters who discussed it. Likewise, the Regional Arab HDR, which promoted democratic institutions for the Arab world, was depicted in a favorable and respected light. Support for democratic institutions came up repeatedly with a diverse number of quotes taken from the HDR especially in the 2000s. For instance, "The 2002 [HD] report contends 'politics matter for human development because people everywhere want to be free to determine their destinies, express their views and participate in decisions that shape their lives. These capabilities are just as important for human development … as being able to read or enjoy good health'" (Sabaratnam 2002, 11).

To sum up, mass media coverage of the HDRs demonstrates that the media can be very influential as an intervening variable in the process of norm diffusion, especially in cases of diffusing an ideology or sets of norms from IOs to states and the global public. Overwhelmingly, newspaper reporters and op-ed columnists treat the HDR and indicators like the HDI as authoritative. Global mass media regularly reiterates this framing of development thereby challenging older ideas that development is identical to indicators such as GDP and PCI. This makes an impression on countries and encourages them to follow development norms the United Nations promotes. Increasing foreign aid is also a major norm the United Nations pushes in the HDRs and is echoed by reporters encouraging states to increase aid to developing countries. "The UN report, the third in an annual series prepared by an independent team of economists, says aid should increase according to a donor country's means. Foreign aid has not done the job, according to the United Nations. Poor countries are worse off now than they were in 1960" (Poor Countries Worse 1992, A10).

## Conclusion

Our case study analysis of the HDRs provides new evidence to back up the claim that norm entrepreneurs need more than just their own willpower, moral standing, and perceived authority to internationally disseminate a particular ideology with its concomitant norms. As demonstrated here, political communication through the mass media is crucial to legitimizing the norm entrepreneur. In this case, the reputation that the United Nations has built up over time as a less coercive and less threatening actor than many other IOs or powerful states has helped it to gain credibility with global mass media. The media, in turn, readily amplify core themes in the HDRs rather than ignoring, attacking, or ridiculing them. The HDRs were treated as a credible source in the vast majority of articles we analyzed and consistently had a high degree of resonance not only with journalists but also with writers of editorial and opinion columns. The decentralization of HDRs in the form of locally produced national, regional, and subnational reports also clearly supports the United Nations' promotion of the HD ideology in conveying increasing local ownership of HD norms and revealing that regional, national, and subnational decision makers share priorities promoted by the HDRs.

An important lesson here is that under certain conditions and with effective support from the mass media, IOs can experience success in the diffusion of an ideology and its associated norms and ideas. As discussed at the outset,

if a set of ideas is spreading, we would expect to see (1) evidence of diffusion over time and across space, (2) mass media coverage legitimizing the norm entrepreneur and its message, and (3) increasing prevalence and articulation of a message vis-à-vis competing ideas. In the case of the HDRs, our analysis found strong evidence of all three, suggesting that communication plays a central role in international ideological diffusion and is, therefore, deserving of greater attention by IR scholars interested in the spread of norms and ideas to global mass publics.

Although our study illustrates that mass media played a pivotal role in spreading ideas about HD and the capabilities approach as expressed through the HDRs, further research is still needed to assess the level of internalization of the HD ideology in states and how the general public in different countries have absorbed and been impacted by these media messages. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this study but will be fruitful to examine in future research. Yet, even without a comprehensive assessment of global public opinion, our study does illustrate that newspaper articles citing the HDRs appear in every world region and greatly exceed those mentioning the WDR, the main ideological competitor to the HDR. In many media outlets, such as *Africa News*, the number of articles citing the HDRs and the HDI has increased over time, and the media has overwhelmingly portrayed the HDRs in a way favorable to dissemination of the HD ideology.

Our research also suggests further lines of study that would help us understand power relationships in norm diffusion more generally. Although theoretical articles discussing power relationships between groups that dictate why a norm or ideology is internalized in IR have offered some supportive empirical evidence (e.g., Epstein 2012), we feel this research still needs further development to understand the important issue of how norms can be diffused from states and smaller communities to the international system and not just the other way around (Towns 2012; Job and Shesterinina 2014). A good place to start might be to analyze the political communication of other actors promoting norms to the world. Here, we studied a publication of the United Nations, but the same methodology could also be applied to the messages of states, multinational corporations, and nongovernmental organizations. This would allow us to further test the degree to which external legitimation of a norm entrepreneur via mass media contributes to the diffusion and internalization of its ideas.

In conclusion, although IR scholars have thus far paid little attention to mass media as an important vehicle for international norm diffusion, we urge them to begin doing so. For, if people matter, then it is the ideas to which they, not just states, are exposed that will determine the future of our world.

## Appendix A: Regional Comparison of Seventy-Five Global News Sources (through December 31, 2014)

| Media source from LN Academic (Major world publications coded January 9, 2015) | LN coverage from (year-month-day) | Articles mentioning WDR | Articles mentioning HDR | Articles mentioning HDI |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Region—Africa** | | **671** | **2,289** | **3,481** |
| *Africa News* | 1991-01-01 | 614 | 2,069 | 297 |
| *Analyst (Liberia)* | 2010-01-28 | 0 | 2 | 5 |
| *Business Day (South Africa)* | 1997-08-26 | 8 | 18 | 50 |
| *Cameroon Tribune English* | 2010-01-13 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| *Citizen (Tanzania)* | 2013-10-03 | 1 | 8 | 14 |
| *Daily Independent (Nigeria)* | 2010-01-12 | 5 | 16 | 41 |
| *Daily Nation (Kenya)* | 2008-05-30 | 2 | 7 | 12 |
| *Daily News (South Africa)* | 2006-07-05 | 1 | 0 | 18 |
| *Daily News Egypt* | 2008-03-13 | 3 | 38 | 16 |
| *Daily Observer (Gambia)* | 2010-01-12 | 0 | 15 | 10 |
| *Daily Trust (Nigeria)* | 2010-01-12 | 5 | 15 | 77 |
| *East African Business Week (Uganda)* | 2010-01-01 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| *Herald (Zimbabwe)* | 2010-01-13 | 2 | 13 | 15 |
| *Monitor (Uganda)* | 2010-01-10 | 1 | 9 | 12 |
| *Mozambique News Agency (English)* | 2008-01-01 | 0 | 8 | 8 |
| *New Times (Rwanda)* | 2010-01-13 | 7 | 22 | 16 |
| *Pretoria News (South Africa)* | 2006-03-09 | 3 | 9 | 22 |
| *This Day (Nigeria)* | 2010-01-12 | 6 | 22 | 80 |
| *Times of Zambia* | 2010-01-13 | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| *Vanguard (Nigeria)* | 2010-01-13 | 9 | 8 | 96 |
| **Region—East Asia** | | **293** | **988** | **874** |
| *Business World (Philippines)* | 1997-01-07 | 53 | 122 | 102 |
| *Japan Times* | 1998-01-01 | 1 | 5 | 8 |
| *Korea Herald* | 1998-08-01 | 7 | 19 | 21 |
| *Korea Times* | 1998-06-16 | 3 | 20 | 29 |
| *Nation (Thailand)* | 1997-07-01 | 11 | 44 | 35 |
| *New Straits Times (Malaysia)* | 1995-01-01 | 19 | 127 | 71 |
| *South China Morning Post (HK)* | 1992-07-28 | 18 | 28 | 36 |
| *Straits Times (Singapore)* | 1992-05-01 | 22 | 83 | 78 |
| *Xinhua General News Service (China)* | 1977-01-01 | 159 | 540 | 494 |
| **Region—Europe** | | **516** | **1,815** | **1,432** |
| *Agence France Presse (AFP-English)* | 1991-05-01 | 45 | 216 | 393 |
| *Baltic News Service* | 1995-01-02 | 3 | 105 | 60 |
| *Daily Telegraph (UK)* | 2000-10-30 | 1 | 9 | 23 |
| *Deutsche Presse-Agentur (Germany)* | 1994-07-03 | 9 | 181 | 104 |
| *Financial Times (UK)* | 1992-01-02 | 184 | 171 | 117 |
| *Guardian (UK)* | 1984-07-14 | 74 | 160 | 164 |
| *Independent (UK)* | 1988-09-19 | 27 | 52 | 58 |
| *Inter Press Service* | 1984-04-01 | 140 | 733 | 343 |
| *Irish Times* | 1992-06-01 | 10 | 162 | 122 |
| *Times (UK)* | 1985-07-01 | 23 | 26 | 48 |
| **Region—North America** | | **449** | **1,089** | **1,128** |
| *National Post/Financial Post (Toronto)* | 1985-01-05 | 21 | 80 | 116 |
| *New York Times* | 1980-06-01 | 39 | 113 | 99 |
| *Associated Press* | 1977-01-01 | 45 | 91 | 152 |
| *Christian Science Monitor* | 1980-01-02 | 30 | 56 | 45 |
| *Globe and Mail* | 1977-11-14 | 72 | 132 | 206 |
| *Philadelphia Inquirer* | 1994-01-01 | 0 | 18 | 11 |
| *Toronto Star* | 1985-09-03 | 43 | 119 | 209 |
| *United Press International (UPI)* | 1980-09-26 | 46 | 91 | 57 |
| *US Federal News Service* | 1988-08-01 | 100 | 228 | 83 |
| *USA Today* | 1989-01-03 | 1 | 19 | 5 |
| *Vancouver Sun* | 1991-07-02 | 8 | 61 | 97 |
| *Washington Post* | 1977-01-01 | 44 | 81 | 48 |
| **Region—Oceania/Pacific** | | **60** | **242** | **352** |
| *Age (Melbourne)* | 1991-01-25 | 21 | 57 | 55 |
| *Advertiser/Sunday Mail* | 1986-01-01 | 6 | 29 | 21 |
| *Australian* | 1993-04-01 | 12 | 54 | 94 |
| *Canberra Times* | 1997-07-14 | 5 | 26 | 43 |
| *Courier Mail* | 1985-01-01 | 3 | 13 | 23 |
| *Daily Mirror* | 1995-05-29 | 0 | 10 | 12 |
| *Daily Telegraph* | 1985-01-01 | 2 | 15 | 26 |
| *Dominion Post* | 2002-07-08 | 0 | 5 | 7 |
| *Herald Sun* | 1985-11-19 | 6 | 16 | 26 |
| *New Zealand Herald* | 1998-11-02 | 4 | 13 | 36 |
| *Press (Christchurch)* | 1996-01-10 | 1 | 4 | 9 |

| Media source from LN Academic (Major world publications coded January 9, 2015) | LN coverage from (year-month-day) | Articles mentioning WDR | Articles mentioning HDR | Articles mentioning HDI |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Region—South Asia** | | **46** | **252** | **617** |
| *Balochistan Times (Pakistan)* | 2006-07-01 | 4 | 24 | 42 |
| *Business Recorder (Pakistan)* | 2010-09-14 | 7 | 21 | 33 |
| *Daily Mirror (Sri Lanka)* | 2008-04-10 | 5 | 14 | 45 |
| *Daily Times (Pakistan)* | 2009-04-10 | 8 | 35 | 64 |
| *Himalayan Times (Nepal)* | 2009-08-28 | 2 | 21 | 58 |
| *Indian Express* | 2009-04-23 | 8 | 58 | 134 |
| *Times of India* | 2010-01-08 | 12 | 79 | 241 |
| **Region—West and Central Asia** | | **7** | **112** | **75** |
| *Al Akhbar English (Lebanon)* | 2012-03-01 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| *Arabian Gazette* | 2013-03-23 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| *Central Asian News Service (English)* | 2012-03-26 | 0 | 12 | 11 |
| *Daily Star (Lebanon)* | 2007-11-27 | 4 | 44 | 16 |
| *Jerusalem Post* | 1989-01-01 | 2 | 27 | 26 |
| *Khaleej Times (UAE)* | 2008-05-04 | 1 | 25 | 17 |
| **Total** | | **2,042** | **6,787** | **7,959** |

**Appendix B: Code Sheet for Content Analysis of Newspaper Articles**

I. Coder Information

(1) Name of coder: _____

(2) Date of coding: _____

II. News Source

(1) Year, month, date and day of the week of article: _____

(2) Name of newspaper: _____

(3) Country of newspaper: _____

(4) Title of article: _____

(5) Author of article: _____

(6) Section (news, editorial, international, op-ed, etc.): _____

(7) Page number on which the article appears: _____

(8) Length of article (words): _____

(9) Language of article: _____

II. Content Source Assessment

(1) HDR is mentioned: 1 = yes, 0 = no

(2) Which levels of HDRs are mentioned: global, regional, national, and subnational?

(3) HDR source credibility: 1 = treated as credible source, 0 = treated as not credible

(4) HDR data is mentioned in the article: 1 = yes, 0 = no

(5) HDI is mentioned: 1 = yes, 0 = no

(6) HDI is explained: 1 = yes, 0 = no

(7) UN Personnel cited: 1 = yes, 0 = no

(8) World Bank is mentioned: 1 = yes, 0 = no

(9) WDR is mentioned: 1 = yes, 0 = no

III. Content Themes (HD Norms) Mentioned

(1) Gender equality/Women's empowerment: 1 = yes, 0 = no

(2) Rights/conditions of migrants/immigrants: 1 = yes, 0 = no

(3) Democratic/inclusive/participatory governance: 1 = yes, 0 = no

(4) Foreign aid/donor support from North to South: 1 = yes, 0 = no

(5) Global development targets/MDGs/SDGs: 1 = yes, 0 = no

IV. Qualitative analysis (note examples of passages discussing)

(1) HDR as credible/not credible: _____

(2) UN spokespersons discussing HDR content: _____

(3) Specific theme of that year's HDR report: _____

(4) Local ownership and local relevance of HDR report: _____

(5) Gender equality/women's empowerment: _____

(6) Democracy and good governance: _____

(7) Migrant/immigrant rights and conditions: _____

(8) Foreign aid: _____

(9) Global development targets/MDGs/SDGs: _____

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